

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Walter Z. Laqueur

November 21, 1960, 25 cents

T.R.B.

from
Washington

Winner Takes All

★ A few days more and Republicans will convince themselves they won the election. No doubt about it, Kennedy would be in stronger position if he had won by a 1932 landslide. He didn't, and it's worth analyzing the result.

This was a wonderfully close election, a difference of some 300,000 popular votes out of 67 million. A couple of Republicans named Hayes and Harrison back in 1876 and 1888 won the Presidency on electoral votes alone and overcame the handicap. Republicans see the situation hopefully. It will be, they say, like the 1958 Democratic victory that turned out to be a terrible dud.

How much substance is there in this? Some, we think, but not too much. A huge majority seemed developing on that strange, unforgettable election night but it melted away like a snowbank after 12. Now the GOP would like to discredit the new Administration entirely and argue it has no mandate at all.

This is silly. To begin with this isn't 1958. The problem there was Eisenhower's veto, requiring an unobtainable two-thirds vote in the Congress. That is gone for keeps. Next, though the Democrats have lost two seats in the Senate and 22 or more in the House, their previous majority was so top-heavy that they could hardly go anywhere but down. One can predict even now with reasonable certainty further losses two years hence. They will still run Congress.

Exit the Religious Issue

★ A point to remember, we think, is that the religious issue is deflated. The wonder is not that a Catholic was elected by a close vote, but that he was

elected at all. The skip-jump quality of the result is fascinating; Kennedy's religion apparently helped him in the concentrated big-city vote of populous states; damaged him in rural Protestant areas outside the South. But now the precedent is shattered. Conservatives say nothing should ever be done for the first time: but once something is done the argument collapses. We know Kennedy is going to lean backward in an attitude that we have previously described as "anti-clericalism." When he runs for re-election in 1964 we suspect the religious issue will be forgotten.

We also suspect the Republicans don't know even yet what hit them. In spite of exhortations from the most popular President in history, in spite of the religious issue, in spite of Kennedy's youth, the American people chose the man who was telling them bad news instead of the one telling them good news. We find this enormously encouraging.

Mortgaged to the South?

★ It is argued that Lyndon Johnson and the South have a mortgage on Kennedy and will revive the old GOP-Dixie coalition. Maybe. We admit we don't see much chance of abolishing the 27½ percent oil depletion tax loophole that has made so many Texas millionaires.

But whatever Johnson may think, he accepted the leftist Democratic platform in toto in the campaign and there are rumors he got religion at the last in Texas when the GOP Neanderthals called him "Judas" and roughed up him and his wife. More important, we think, is that you are going to see crackling leadership by Kennedy with a powerful legislative team — Johnson, Sam Rayburn, Mansfield, McCormack and others — and no veto to fear. We predict now, for example, that the House Rules Committee nuisance will be abated. It was the power of this Committee under Chairman Howard W. Smith (D, Va.) that more than anything ruined the rump session of Congress. Sam Rayburn says little about this committee, but a certain look comes into his eye. There are several ways of curbing it. Put this down; it will be curbed.

There is one more thing. It is our estimate of Kennedy. We have hardly dared to mention it, it is so high. Maybe we are wrong, but we think you may be

seeing the beginning of an important political personality. Certainly, at 43 he should be around for a good while.

This feeling grew at his first press conference last week at Hyannis Port. The week's excitement brought \$50,000 in business to the little community and before the tiny "port" lapsed back to normal late-autumn population of a few dozen (after Kennedy flew off in "The Caroline"), the small Hyannis Western Union office had received 13,000 congratulatory telegrams and the Post Office was knee deep in mail sacks.

The friendly but businesslike press offered Kennedy every opportunity to stub his toe, every chance to fall into a pit. Reporters are not hostile, they like him, but it is their job to spread bait for the unwary. For example, did he consider the election a "repudiation" of Eisenhower? Quite skillfully and with poise and dignity Kennedy refused the bait. "Repudiation"? Certainly not that word. And he sent a tactful message to the hero-President.

What happens now to Nixon? If Republicans want to run him in 1964 as some backers hope, it will be all right by us. We still think Rockefeller could have beat Kennedy in 1960, but four years hence nobody will beat him.

Action Ahead

★ Ho-hum, we must come back from politics. We are in a recession, Eisenhower's third in eight years. The bad news on unemployment was held back till after the election. Jobs declined when they normally go up, unemployment rose when it normally sinks. Total unemployment is 3,388,000. This isn't too bad by itself but comes to 6.4 percent seasonally adjusted, with a brutal winter ahead unless things improve fast. Eisenhower has actually started to pump out government contracts and the interest rate has been brought down. Just possibly the psychological lift of electing Kennedy will bridge the gap; if it doesn't he will take strong action two months hence.

Summing it up, it is our judgment that Kennedy and the Democrats have the momentum to put through the program that stalled in the special session. We expect education, health, housing and minimum wage bills to go through, and probably a lot more.

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Breaking the Rules

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A battle over Congressional rules is bound to break out in January, whether Mr. Kennedy wills it or not. It is in his interest that it be won, quickly and decisively, for there can be little forward motion so long as the Congressional brake stays on. But if Congressional procedures are to be changed Mr. Kennedy will need to engage himself in the fight.

The skillful coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats that has dominated the Congress for years has gradually molded the rules and practices of both houses to provide innumerable built-in obstacles to legislation of which they disapprove. The obstacles they have interposed between the majority and the execution of its will are sometimes obvious and sometimes obscure, but they have one common purpose—to enable a conservative minority to prevent a majority from legislating. They prevented enactment of the Kennedy-Johnson program in the August session of the Congress this year (with, one must grant, help from Mr. Eisenhower), and there is little reason to doubt their power, under present rules, to block many of the programs the President-elect is pledged to put into effect.

The main obstacles are these:

1. *The arbitrary power of committee chairmen.* As long as Senator Eastland is Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, no new civil rights legislation is going to have much of a chance. It says in the good government textbooks that a majority in any committee must prevail, but that is the theory. In practice, members of the majority simply may not be recognized. The Chairman opens the meeting; he talks and then calls upon Sen. Olin Johnston; he talks and then perhaps scratches his head, which is the signal for the Chairman to recognize Senator Irwin of North Carolina; he talks, and rubs his ear, which is the Chairman's clue to talk again himself; the bells ring; it is time to adjourn the committee meeting. While Mr. Eastland is the most infamous of the arbitrary Chairmen, several others in each house resemble him in the despotic abuse of their powers. They can refuse to hold hearings or schedule measures for consideration; they appoint subcommittees and choose committee staff. In these committees, success for Mr. Kennedy's proposals depends upon either limiting the powers of the Chairman or supplanting them with men who will be responsive to the party platform, to the will of the majorities and to Presidential leadership.

2. *The arbitrary power of the House Rules Committee.* This Committee, the reform of which will later be discussed in detail in *The New*

Republic, was originally intended as a traffic manager for House business; but it has arrogated to itself the power to kill legislation or to demand that bills be drastically amended before being permitted to reach the House floor. Even after the House has passed a bill, the Rules Committee can prevent it from being considered by a Senate-House Conference Committee – as it did in the case of school aid legislation in the August session. Last month, Chairman Howard Smith (D, Va.), who voted with the conservative coalition 95 percent of the time in 1960, said he would “exercise whatever weapons that I can lay my hands on” to prevent Democratic platform pledges from being enacted into law.

3. *The “gentlemen’s agreement” on the House Ways and Means Committee.* The conservative coalition has enjoyed perpetual control of the Ways and Means Committee, which handles tax and social security legislation, because of a “gentlemen’s agreement” that its membership be split 15-10 between the parties. Of the 15 Democrats, at least 3 are sure to be Southern Democrats who vote with the Republicans, giving the latter a majority. Other committees in the last Congress were divided on a two-to-one basis, more accurately reflecting the division of party strength, but the Ways and Means Committee has been exempt from the principle of equitable composition.

4. *The conservative makeup of other key committees.* The Senate Finance Committee, the counterpart of Ways and Means, is so heavily weighted with conservatives that no progressive Kennedy measure is likely ever to have its favorable consideration. The Appropriations Committees and Commerce Committees of both houses are similarly overbalanced. And the groups which make assignments to committees – the Ways and Means Committee in the House and the Democratic Steering Committee in the Senate (for the majority) – are safely in conservative hands.

5. *The filibuster.* The filibuster is the most spectacular of anachronistic Congressional practices, but it is not widely employed. While its threat hangs over all controversial major legislation, in practice its use is limited to issues which are life-and-death matters to individual Senators, and in recent years only the civil rights issue has been fraught with such emotion.

6. *The makeup of conference committees.* A bill which has passed both houses in different forms must be sent to a Senate-House Conference Committee to reconcile differences. Under the rules, a conference committee is supposed to be controlled by supporters of the measure under consideration, but in practice seniority is followed in naming committee members. This means that conference committees are usually run by

the conservative coalition, and they can – and do – scuttle the wishes of the majorities of both houses.

Let us assume that a majority exists in both houses for a given measure desired by the President, and then examine the obstacle course which that measure – medical care for the aged under social security, for example – would have to run: Initially, it could be blocked by the coalition-stacked House Ways and Means Committee. If, somehow, it could be blasted from that Committee and passed the House, Senator Byrd’s Finance Committee could delay the proceedings endlessly. If Finance were by-passed and the measure taken directly to the Senate floor, Senator Byrd and Congressman Mills would decide its fate in the Conference Committee. And the obstacles in the way of major bills are as nothing compared to those which block minor bills where the press of publicity is missing.

President Kennedy will be in office for four or eight years. If, during the first days, the Congress can be made responsive to its own majorities by a reform of its procedures, then there will be time for him to work to his will; it will not then be necessary to crowd the whole legislative program into a brief period that may, in any case, turn out to be not much of a honeymoon.

Unity For What?

Commenting on *The New Republic’s* discussion last week of the kind of Secretary of State who might best meet the requirements of the next President and of the 60’s, Joseph Alsop has written of “the urgent need unite the country, after a narrow electoral victory with very rough going ahead.” Now, national unity is everybody’s scripture, but for what purpose is it cited here? To carry out the foreign policies he has outlined over the past 10 years, Mr. Kennedy will certainly need all the support he can muster, but support for *his* program, a program that is bound to have occasional critics.

What some columnists are now telling Mr. Kennedy is that he does not have a clear enough mandate to govern on the terms he offered the electorate. If one carries this line of thought to its logical conclusion, there could be no more suitable Secretary of State than that symbol of unity, Dwight D. Eisenhower – were he willing. Under him, the country was “united,” though the price in prestige has been high, and though Mr. Eisenhower casually disregarded the Democratic Congressional returns in 1954, 1956 and 1958. His appointments were almost all partisan, and controversial from the point of view of those who saw the world differently. That was not improper, for any high public official worth his salt is “controversial,” insofar as he stands for something. Mr. Kennedy has set forth his

own challenging view of the power of the Presidency. The office may be used to dull the edge of important distinctions, or to quicken the public's appreciation of those distinctions and what they imply. An Administration intent on new departures may have to risk a transitory disunity in the sense that minds may for a time be unsettled. But only thus can a strong President, in the end, make effective his command and mold a new consensus of popular support.

Puerto Rico's Choice

In electing Senator Kennedy, Americans voiced their confidence that a Roman Catholic President would keep church and state separate. The Puerto Rican electorate emphatically seconded this sentiment by returning Muñoz Marín to the governorship and gave his Popular Democratic Party a two-thirds majority in the legislature. *Puertorriqueños* roundly rebuffed the hierarchy of the island who in past weeks issued two pastoral letters enjoining the overwhelmingly Catholic population from backing the Governor or his party.

Not even the 10 percent of the electorate who petitioned to form the Church-sanctioned Christian Action Party this summer, gave it their support on November 3. The party mustered less than 6.5 percent of the vote, effectively disqualifying it as a political organization. (A mere 1 percent of the vote is needed to maintain official party status.) For the Church group this was both a spiritual and a financial defeat as they are now no longer eligible for the \$75,000 yearly - \$150,000 in election funds - government subsidy impartially granted to all major parties. Moreover, the pastoral letters have rekindled anti-clerical sentiment, never long absent in this Caribbean archdiocese whose Roman Catholic hierarchy is headed by mainland US priests.

Muñoz's victory assures both his continuation as Governor - his fourth term - and Commonwealth status. Unique under the Stars and Stripes, the island as a "freely associated state" enjoys both internal self-government and such advantages as exemption from federal taxes and inclusion in the US tariff structure.

Like the Christian Action Party, the Independents also faded away, polling a slim three percent. The party had campaigned on the accusation that the US was guilty of "acts of colonialism."

Thus two political parties were eliminated in this four-way race. The major opposition to Governor Muñoz, of course, came from the Republican Statehood Party of Luis Ferré. Ferré, the island's leading industrialist, picked up 8 percentage points over the last election. But his emotional cry of "first-class citizenship" via statehood was rejected. This issue will, however, lie dormant only till next year; an island referendum on Puerto Rico's status is scheduled for 1961.

Those Split Ballots

Since Senators Javits, Case and Cooper have as little in common with Hickenlooper as Senators Douglas, Clark and Humphrey have with Byrd - and their records show it - the voters have reason to be less and less partisan. This, in part, may explain why the splitting of ballots, though not as substantial this November as in 1956, was widespread.

Thus, in Alaska, where, as of this writing, Mr. Nixon leads slightly, the two incumbent Democratic representatives and the Democratic Senatorial candidate won easily. Connecticut gave Mr. Kennedy one of his most commanding state majorities, but two out of the five House seats held by Democrats were lost. Delaware preferred Mr. Kennedy, but chose a Republican Senator, and a Democratic Governor. Mr. Nixon took Florida, though the new Governor is a Democrat. In Illinois, Kennedy squeezed through with a majority of around 6,000, but both the Democratic Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates won by close to 400,000 votes. Mr. Nixon swept Indiana, and five Democratic incumbents in the House were defeated; but a Democratic Governor was elected.

The Kennedy-Johnson ticket had no trouble in Massachusetts (where Mr. Eisenhower and a Democratic Governor won in 1956), but Massachusetts picked the Republican candidates for the US Senate and the Governorship. Minnesota gave Mr. Kennedy a precarious lead (at the same time deposing its Democratic Governor) though it returned Hubert Humphrey to the Senate by a fair majority. Mr. Kennedy did poorly in Nebraska, as did the Democratic Senatorial candidate, but the new Governor is a Democrat. Senator Kennedy won in New Jersey; so did Republican Senator Case. New Jersey likewise was in the Kennedy column, and a Republican Governor was elected. A Democrat, Maurine Neuberger, won easily in Oregon; so did Richard Nixon. Pennsylvania went for Kennedy, but the Democrats lost two of their Congressmen from that state.

Mr. Nixon won Tennessee's 11 electoral votes by over 50,000; Estes Kefauver was re-elected by about a 300,000 majority. Mr. Nixon prevailed in Virginia with a 40,000 majority; while Sen. A. W. Robertson, Democrat, was re-elected by over 300,000. Nixon was the winner in Washington; so was a Democratic Governor. Wisconsin is an especially striking case: it was in the Nixon column, but re-elected liberal Democrat Gaylord Nelson, a "barn burner" orator in the La Follette tradition, as Governor.

By the time the political scientists have sorted out such incongruities and made of them some comprehensible pattern, it may be that the two parties will have sorted themselves out so that more voters will be able more clearly to discern party differences.

Mr. Kennedy and Civil Rights

This is the first of a series, to be published each week over the coming two months, in which the editors of The New Republic discuss the most urgent business before the Kennedy Administration. Major areas of policy will be considered in the light of national needs, the President-elect's stated views and the political factors conditioning possible initiatives by the Chief Executive.

The first months of 1961 will be a time of heightened – yet not limitless – energies, and a peak time of executive effectiveness in legislative leadership. It will also be a short and crowded time of competing priorities, all high; and the risk to the quantity and quality of the total legislative program that would inhere in asking now for civil rights legislation is obvious and familiar.

There are, however, immediate needs which can be met by the President acting on his own. Meeting them vigorously and imaginatively will amount to a fresh start on civil rights, a hopeful and it may be even a spectacular start. Moreover, and this is most important, it is reasonable to expect that the assumption of Presidential responsibility will alter the shape and posture of things so as vastly to enhance the chances of far-reaching Congressional action when the time for that does come.

The initial step in the assumption of Presidential responsibility might fittingly be the issuance soon after inauguration not of one or more executive orders – though they will also be needed – but of a Proclamation. We have not ceased to live by symbols, here or throughout the world, and it is not purposeless thus to call to mind the grandest traditions of the office and the boldest actions of its great occupants. The President might review the history of Negro rights (and wrongs) since Lincoln's Proclamation: the Civil War Amendments, the largely ineffectual Civil Rights Act of 1875, the forward movement in modern constitutional litigation to the climax of the recent decisions, and the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. He could then proclaim his purpose to protect and defend, to apply and to extend these recent legislative and judicial policies throughout the realm of executive power. And he could announce that he proposes, in the language of the Constitution, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" as follows:

1. Through the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, extend technical assistance to school districts seeking to integrate white and Negro schools, and establish a conciliation service to help work out integration plans in districts that have

as yet made no start of their own. The Office would collect and make readily available the lessons of experience on such matters as scholastic standards, social relationships in schools, utilization of Negro teachers, and Negro-white community cooperation.

2. Through the Civil Rights Division, enter the appearance of the federal government as *amicus curiae* in school integration suits in districts where the Office of Education has helped work out or has suggested a plan, and in other suits on the request of either party.

3. Through the Civil Rights Division inaugurate an extensive and unrelenting program of litigation to carry out the voting rights guaranties of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

4. Through the Department of Health, Education & Welfare establish it as a condition upon the disbursement of federal funds that recipient institutions of higher learning do not practice racial or religious discrimination in the admission of students or the appointment of faculty.

5. Through the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Urban Renewal Administration work out policies where feasible to encourage the growth of racially integrated neighborhoods, or at least prevent the perpetuation of segregated ones. Such policies would be worked out in consultation with local authorities, of course, but they should ultimately be enforced as conditions upon the receipt of federal funds and assistance.

6. Through a Special Assistant to the President operating out of the White House, police and enforce non-discriminatory practices by government contractors.

Issuance of such a Proclamation, though an effective action in itself in focusing public attention and energizing the echelons of government, would mark only the beginning of Presidential leadership. The new Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division should be a public figure of some standing, and he should have public evidence of the

President's interest and trust. The same holds for the head of the Office of Education. The President should also meet promptly with the members of the Civil Rights Commission for the purpose of coordinating the investigative work of that body with the new Administration program. At lower levels, a great deal of staffing will have to be done within existing appropriations. Very often, therefore, this will require borrowing of personnel from within the government, and if that is to be done rapidly and result in the assignment of first-rate people, it must also have the President's attention from time to time. Personnel will be needed not only

for the litigating, technical assistance and conciliation programs, but for the others as well. For non-discrimination policies cannot just be decreed; they must be worked out to suit conditions, and they must be policed. Neither the mere appearance of discrimination nor of non-discrimination is necessarily true to the reality of things. It will often be necessary to investigate and to grant hearings. Finally, funds will have to be found, though not in what currently passes for a significant amount, within existing appropriations, and that also will require a form of personally conducted Presidential arbitrage.

"Moderation" in the Sixties, Too?

Many are now saying that the narrow Kennedy victory is in some special sense to be credited to the work of Sen. Lyndon Johnson, and that this implies that "moderation" is to continue to be the order of the day in dealing with proposals aimed at giving the Negro his rights in the South.

A good many thoughts occur. First of all, this sort of talk is not complimentary to Senator Johnson. He has repeatedly taken his stand on the entire Democratic platform, and in a context which can leave no doubt that the civil rights plank was the one on which he was especially intended to clarify his position. Those who are in an accretion to his prestige a diminution of the forces of the Democratic pledges on civil rights are justifying their inference on an assumption which would disqualify him as a person worthy of trust.

And this assumption is gratuitous. Senator Johnson up to now may well have considered himself to some degree confined to the function of a sectional representative. Now he has been elected to national office on national promises. It is no more than just to him to assume that whatever influence he may have gained is to count as influence for the redeeming of these promises to the Negro, in their spirit and in their entirety.

We may assume, therefore, that the discerning of a "take it easy" gloss on the civil rights pledges has no connection with Vice President-elect Johnson as he really is. But "images" fade slowly. And the gloss is being written on the basis of Senator Johnson's past. Yet another pretext is thus woven for refusing to apply to the denial of rights of citizenship the requisite kind of vigorous Congressional and Executive correction.

We must assess the relative importance of Senator Johnson's contribution to the Democratic victory. And the first striking thing is the strangeness of picking out this particular contribution, even at its highest possible

value, as *the* one on which to focus. Kennedy needed 269 electoral votes. He got 233 outside the South, counting West Virginia and Missouri as in the South. Even if one assumes that not even 36 electoral votes would have come out of the South without Johnson's help, it remains absurd to attribute to him a uniquely significant role. For all one could possibly say is that Kennedy could not have won without him. But could Kennedy have won without the Negro leaders of the North, and the liberals who were with them? In New York? In Illinois? In Michigan? Could these leaders have brought their people into the Kennedy camp unless they had been satisfied that a vigorous implementation of the civil rights plank was to be a fruit of victory – or that Johnson as national officer was to be something different from Johnson as regional spokesman?

In a close coalition victory, every element of strength is indispensable. What uniquely marks this one weight of Lyndon Johnson amongst all that tipped the scale? How convincing is the claim that Johnson's work made the difference? No one will ever really know. Did he "save" South Carolina where "... some observers said Negroes had given Mr. Kennedy his margin of victory ..." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 11, 1960, p. 20)? Was his intervention needed in Louisiana, which went for Kennedy something like two to one? Would the close Ohio vote have gone for Kennedy if a Midwest liberal had been on his ticket? Did Johnson make the difference in Missouri (which went for Kennedy), or in Oregon (which did not)? No one can be sure, and I do not intend any assertiveness in what follows. But let me point out that a mere conjecture that Kennedy would not have won without Johnson is all that supports the granting to Johnson of a place in the large group of people whose support was indispensable.

Johnson quite definitely failed to do much that was

hoped of him. He was to be consolidator of the border states, the states not wholly committed to ante-bellum nostalgia. Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Virginia were lost. In the Deep South, Mississippi went her own way. Alabama elected six unpledged electors. Hardly an unequivocal triumph!

But partial triumphs there were. 102 electoral votes were won in the South, including Missouri, West Virginia and Texas. *Kennedy needed 36 of these to win.* How desperate were his chances of getting them without Johnson? In '52 and '56, *states of this group having 47 electoral votes went to Stevenson*, while he was being disastrously defeated by a national hero. States having 31 votes went to Stevenson in one or another of these years. Are the clarities of the civil rights plank to be muddled by the guess that it took Johnson to keep less than half these states in a position they took against Eisenhower? That is the form the question must take – not whether we think it on the whole rather more likely than not that Johnson's work in these states was decisive, but whether we are sure enough of it to deflect the energy of the new Administration from goals to which it has committed itself. And we must balance such a guess against the guess that the Democratic ticket would without Johnson (and *with* the affirmative pulling power of another sort of candidate) have run stronger in Indiana, Ohio, Oregon, Washington and perhaps other states that were lost.

There are, after all, solid considerations, aside from the influence of one man, that could keep the South in line; the position of a Senator is more agreeable, for example, under a President of his own party. And the Republican civil rights plank offered no refuge.

There remaineth Texas. Texas returned to the fold after two Eisenhower episodes. But it would be the cruelest irony to use the Texas victory as an excuse to go easy on civil rights. The Negroes of Harris County lined up thick to vote for Kennedy. Negroes kept the Nixon margin in Houston below that expected. East Austin votes (Negro and Latin) contributed heavily to the 55 percent majority which Kennedy won in Travis County. In Austin's Precinct 128, for example, where

the Democrats are led by the dean of a Negro college, Stevenson got 483 votes in 1956, Eisenhower 298; this year Kennedy got 751, Nixon 213. Henry Gonzales, a civil rights fighter of honorable scars, battled for the ticket, in Texas and even in Harlem. Liberal organizations such as the Harris County Democrats pulled out the whole throttle. On what is now known it would make at least as much sense to say that Texas would have been lost without the wholehearted cooperation of racial minorities and liberal groups as it does to say that Texas would have been lost without Johnson.

I hope I have made it clear that none of the above is directed against Senator Johnson as he actually is. He has fought for the ticket and his is a part of the victory. I ought also to say that I write at a time when final results are not everywhere clear; my arithmetic may have to be done over, but the main points will surely remain firm.

I am concerned, then, with a chain of false inference: which threatens to thwart the evident energy and sincerity which I read on Senator Kennedy's face when he spoke at his Conference on Human Rights in New York. Full implementation of the civil rights plank is natural priority for the new Administration. In a clo victory the "mandate" may be equivocal as to sor things, but *both* platforms called for a vigorous ci rights program. No domestic need is as great. And y we are told that the form of the victory, in its relati to Senator Johnson's work, justifies still another po ponement, still another demonstration of our "und standing" of institutions which we would be asham to "understand" if their victims were white.

I once knew a young man who said he was dying get married, but somehow there was a little somethi... wrong with every girl he met. I am getting old in this civil rights business now, and I ask myself – why do so many people in the North always so eagerly run to the latest poor excuse?

CHARLES L. BLACK, JR.

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How the Negroes Voted

If the Negro voters of America hadn't shifted last Tuesday to John Kennedy, Vice President Nixon would now be holding press conferences as President-elect. In at least four key states – New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, and South Carolina – Negro Democratic votes far exceeded the margin of the Kennedy victory. If the final

tally in California shows Kennedy holding that state, then California can be added to this group as well.

Of course, every group voting for Kennedy provided a "margin of victory." If any major element *hadn't* voted Democratic, the narrow margin of Kennedy's win would have been wiped out. Southerners, Cath-

olics, labor, Jews, young people, city residents – all these appeared to have voted in the majority for the Democratic candidate. If any of them had gone the other way, Kennedy would have lost. Indeed, one of the President-elect's possible advantages from so narrow a victory is the inability of any group of voters to claim special recognition for providing the margin of success. The fact is that they all did – and all would have lost if any one part of the coalition had come unstuck on election day.

The Shift in Negro Votes

But the Negro shift is more dramatic than most. In 1956, in his campaign for re-election, President Eisenhower had made marked gains among Negro voters. These gains had been much more substantial in the South than in the North, but substantial they were all over the country. In 1952 Adlai Stevenson had been able to keep most of the Negro vote intact for the Democrats, but by 1956 a part of it was willing to go Republican – at least for the White House. Not a majority by any means, for even in 1956 the Negro voter balloted about two-to-one Democratic, but the slippage was big enough to make many observers feel Vice President Nixon had a real chance for a major breakthrough in 1960 among Negroes.

The breakthrough just didn't happen. On the contrary, the shifts from Eisenhower to Kennedy were among the biggest in the country. To cite specific examples in Northern states:

On Chicago's Negro south side, 5 wards voted 52.5 percent for Stevenson in 1956 and 78.1 percent for Kennedy in 1960.

Philadelphia's ward 47 ran 74.3 percent for Stevenson, 84.3 percent for Kennedy.

Pittsburgh's ward 5 was two-to-one Democratic in 1956; in 1960 the count ran close to four-to-one. The percentages: 67.7 percent and 78.4 percent.

Three Negro Assembly Districts in Manhattan and Brooklyn voted 64.2 percent for Stevenson, 75.2 percent for Kennedy.

These figures were typical voting patterns among Negroes in the North and underline the literally vital role of the Negro vote in key states of the industrial North and Middle West. In New Jersey, won by Kennedy by 30,000 votes, the Negro vote was at least 125,000. In Illinois, held by less than 10,000 for Kennedy, Negro voters exceeded 350,000. In Michigan, won for Kennedy by 65,000, the Negro vote minimum was 225,000.

In the South the results were different only in that the magnitude of the shift was greater. In the South Stevenson majorities in 1952 had melted away by 1956. But 1960 saw the same trend among Southern Negro

voters as among Northern. Here are some examples:

In Missouri, which had a 35,000 Kennedy majority, at least 100,000 votes were cast by Negroes.

In Baltimore, two solidly Negro wards tallied 48.1 percent in 1956, 74.4 percent for Kennedy in 1960.

Memphis' ward 35 voted only 36.2 percent for Stevenson in 1956; in 1960 the vote had shifted completely around to 67.7 percent for Kennedy.

In 8 Negro precincts of Atlanta the support for Stevenson in 1956 was tiny – he got only 14.8 percent of the vote. Last week Kennedy's share had risen to 41.9 percent – not a majority, but a huge increase.

In rural Charles City County, Virginia, perhaps the only rural county in the South with a Negro majority amongst its registered voters, the shift was even more pronounced – 19.0 percent for Stevenson in 1956 and 64.9 percent for Kennedy in 1960.

With South Carolina won by Kennedy by only some 10,000 votes, it seems quite likely the Negro voter provided the margin of Democratic victory in that state. Nearly 60,000 Negroes were registered as South Carolina voters in 1958 and the number was higher this year. Local opinion indicates the heavy Kennedy vote among Negroes and the widespread support for the national Democratic ticket by white textile workers on short-time were the major reasons for the unexpected defeat of Nixon in that state. It is quite possible that full study of the Texas results may indicate another instance of a Kennedy victory by a margin less than the estimated Democratic margin amongst Negro voters. Certainly it can be said even now that the Texas majority was well under the Kennedy margin supplied by Negro and Latin American votes combined.

The "why" of this great shift is a far more complex matter than a recital of the evidence that it happened. A measure of disappointment with Republican activities in the civil rights field undoubtedly played a part. Possibly uncertainty as to just where the Republicans stood on civil rights had its effect. Economic distress among voters hit hard – and fast – by the first small waves of recession was important. Perhaps most important of all, tying together civil rights and economic fears, was the image of candidate Kennedy as a new Roosevelt. For Negro voters Roosevelt remains the white man of this century. The dream of a new Roosevelt in the White House may well have been the basic cause for this massive change of Negro votes in 1960 – a change which will give President-elect Kennedy a majority among Negro voters running far higher than the margin by which he won the national popular vote.

RICHARD M. SCAMMON

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He Will Be Great

The constant reader, if any, has not hitherto found in this space a single confident assertion that John Fitzgerald Kennedy is a great man, nor is it asserted here today.

But he will be.

Rabbits, complained the Little Boy when told of the narrow escape from Br'er Fox, can't climb trees. "Honey," Uncle Remus answered, "Br'er Rabbit he 'bleeged to climb." Kennedy is in a similar strait. To survive at all, he 'bleeged to be great, and here is a flat prediction that he will survive.

It is not a reckless guess. It is based on evidence that if not conclusive is certainly persuasive. Kennedy has courage. He has honor. He has intelligence. And he has the Presidency. It is enough. If a man starts with courage, honor and intelligence, the stresses and strains of the Presidency will make him equal to the task; and if the task is unusually great, the office will make him a great man.

There is certainly no lack of evidence that Kennedy's task is formidable. The economic boom is plainly sputtering out. Communism has crossed the Atlantic and now squats 90 miles off-shore. Our position in the United Nations is precarious and deteriorating. Worst of all, vast numbers of our own people, including many who voted for Kennedy, have no more idea of what is the real situation than Don Quixote had when he tilted against the wind-mills.

All these things spell trouble for the next President and the man who leads the country safely through the labyrinth cannot be less than a great man.

In his favor are two circumstances, one general, the other affecting Kennedy alone. The former is the fact that the American people are slowly recovering from their pipe-dream of invincibility and invulnerability. This year not even Ike, the master tranquilizer, could get them hopped up on that kind of political goof-ball. Therefore, when President Kennedy tells them the truth they will perhaps believe it, as they would not believe it coming from Stevenson in 1956, and at that time probably would not have believed though one had risen from the dead to tell them.

Historically, when Americans have once realized exactly what's what, they have been willing to take

action, and on most occasions it has been pretty sensible action. Mr. Kennedy will have a better chance of getting a reasonable program through Congress than has been offered since Eisenhower's first year.

President-elect Kennedy was probably helped more than he was hurt by the attacks of the genuine bigots. Nevertheless, he started with a serious handicap in the fact that many intelligent and relatively unprejudiced Americans were disturbed, not by Kennedy's religion, but by the strictly political claims asserted by the Roman Curia. It is really amazing that he did not fall, like the Philistines, slain by the jawbones of two asses in Puerto Rico.

But he survived even that calamity, and he did so because a great many of his fellow-citizens stifled their doubts and voted for him on his personal assurance that those doubts do not apply to him. It was a compliment so high that its equal is rarely, if ever, to be found in our political history. The man who received it must be inspired and invigorated by it; after such a brilliant assurance that the American people believe his word is good, Kennedy will redouble his efforts to make it good, as who wouldn't?

So the position of the incoming President is far indeed from being altogether bad. There was very little difference between the popular vote he received and that received by Mr. Nixon. But there is all the difference in the world between having won and having lost. Kennedy's foes are strong and ferocious, but his weapons are excellent. The trust of the people is the best blade that comes to the hand of any President, and when its metal has been tempered in the heats and pressures of religious strife, it is a very Excalibur.

It will not be asserted here that Mr. Kennedy today is perceptibly a bigger man than he was on the seventh of November; but he is entering the lists where in times past men have been made great "not without dust and heat." The real measure of Kennedy will be his stature two years hence. He may not stand at all on that day, for the fight is going to be tremendous; but if he stands, the ground will be littered with dead dragons and this country will be on the march again, under a leader again, and again happy in its resolution to achieve, not merely survive.

Walter Z. Laqueur

Caucasian Diary

The jet age has not yet reached the Caucasus. It takes 54 hours by train from Moscow to get there, or 7 by plane. Until recently no foreigners were allowed to visit the region.

Pyatigorsk

"Yesterday evening I arrived in Pyatigorsk and found lodgings on the outskirts of the town, fairly high up at the foot of the Mashuk; if a storm comes the clouds will hide my roof. When I opened the window at five o'clock this morning my room was full of the scent of the flowers in the small garden; cherry blossom gazes into the room and sometimes the wind covers my desk with white petals. The panorama is magnificent: in the West one sees the blue peaks of the five-headed Beshtau . . . in the North the Mashuk rises like a Persian fur cap; in the East below me there lies the clean town; one hears the murmuring of the mineral springs and the voices of the cosmopolitan crowd. Further away the mountains form a kind of amphitheater, blue and hazy in the distance; and on the edge of the horizon one sees the silver chain of the snow-covered summits from Kasbeck to Elbruz. It is a pleasure to live in such a place. . . ." Thus Lermontov's Petchorin, "A Hero of Our Times," probably the most astonishing short story by a 25-year-old writer in all world literature. The journey to Pyatigorsk has become faster, but the jet age, fortunately, has not yet reached the Caucasus. It takes 54 hours by train from Moscow or seven by plane; arriving in the town at midnight in bright moonlight, the traveler feels something of the old romantic magic of the place.

It is a pleasure to live in such a place, but in the early morning some illusions fly away; open the window at five o'clock, wakened not by the murmuring of the mineral springs or the scent of the flowers but by the infernal noise of the kolkhoz market opposite. The crowd outside is cosmopolitan all right but the fine gentlemen from Petersburg and Moscow are gone, as are their elegant ladies whom Lermontov saw and fell in love with. It consists of highlanders (Gortsi) with their enormous hats, Kabardins, Georgians and Rus-

sians, Armenians and Ukrainians. There are no foreigners in this crowd: until recently they were not allowed in this area at all. Neither the mountains nor the magnificent panorama has changed, but there is a gigantic television mast on the top of the Mashuk, and on a single day the indomitable Elbruz was recently climbed by 1,300 Alpinists.

Nowadays Pyatigorsk is a rather dull provincial town with 69,000 inhabitants, 7 public libraries, 15 sanatoria, an Institute of Education and a pharmaceutical college, factories where bricks, reinforced concrete, machinery, butter, liqueurs and chemicals are produced, 4 cinemas, 4 large and several small bookshops, 5 restaurants, 15 nursery schools, a newspaper and a television station. The traveler can get this and other important information from the telephone book which, very much in contrast to Moscow, he finds in his room. There is a special quality about the only hotel in the place; it appears to date from the period of Pushkin and Lermontov, but the sanitary installations were probably in a better state then. A modern hotel in another part of the town is, however, to be opened shortly and the traveler cannot complain about bad service even in the old caravansary; everyone is courteous, friendly and obliging. (One has to leave Moscow to become acquainted with Russian hospitality.) And even the hardened traveler is rather moved when the employees of the "Gostinitza" wave to him from the window as he leaves; the gesture provides him with food for thought on the inverse relationship between hygiene and cordiality in modern hotels and the world generally.

In the entrance-hall of the hotel there is a branch post office with large pictures of Lenin, Stalin and Kalinin. (Khrushchev figures, however, in the city's main post office.) There are more portraits, busts and memorials of Stalin left in the Caucasus than anywhere else in the Soviet Union: the Georgians are not apparently prepared to give up the memory of the late Yosef Visseriohovitch. Various queues form in front of the post office counters, including one for telephone cou-

WALTER Z. LAQUEUR, editor of *Soviet Survey*, wrote these notes while traveling this past August in the Soviet Union.

pons (or "talons"). To book an inter-urban call is a major operation in the Soviet Union. One buys the coupons at the post office (which is impossible at night). Only then a trunk call can be booked at home or from a public call box; to avoid the complications most Russians prefer to send a telegram.

Pyatigorsk is not only a town of sanatoria and factories, it is also a cultural center. Notices on the walls of the houses announce performances by leading theatrical companies from Moscow, Leningrad and Saratov who appear in the summer months. Deborah Pantoffel is to sing arias from *La Traviata* and *Rigoletto*. The *Great Waltz* appears twice – as a film and as a ballet. Leslie Caron in *Lili* and Gregory Peck in *Roman Holiday* enjoys considerable popularity. Comrade Filimonov of the "Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge" is giving a lecture on the "cunning methods of foreign espionage organizations." The Moscow engineer Pavel Levin on holiday in Essentuki is speaking about India where he has worked, and a few filmstars from Moscow are appearing in the local television program.

The Life of the Streets

A walk through the streets of a provincial town like Pyatigorsk provides more vivid impressions and more significant details of the life of the Soviet citizen than weeks in Moscow.

The day begins very early in the provinces; people are already on their feet, or more precisely, in the streets, by 7 o'clock. The crowds are greatest in the kolkhoz market and wooden stalls surrounding it. Men and women with shopping bags stream through the gates of the great market-hall adorned with portraits of the party leaders, and inscriptions about the coming victory of Communism. The Soviet authorities are very touchy about the kolkhoz markets and taking photographs there is very much frowned on. They regard it as a relic of capitalist economy, since the hundreds of peasant women, on their little stools, offering their goods for sale, do so on their own initiative and fix their own prices: it is really a bit of a free market economy inside a completely different economic system. According to the Moscow guides there are no longer any such markets in the capital: but one can see with one's own eyes that this is not true. The Moscow telephone directory lists no less than 29 such institutions. It is true, however, that the kolkhoz markets have ceased to play an important part in the provisioning of the capital now that basic supplies in the State shops are more or less adequate.

In the provinces the kolkhoz market is often still the center of the small town – at any rate for some hours of the day. The touchiness of the authorities is difficult

to understand since the kolkhoz market is obviously bound to disappear in the course of time. Nobody can fathom the economic rationale of these undertakings: how can it possibly pay the women to travel a considerable distance by train just to offer for sale 15 pounds or so of apples or plums or a few dozen eggs? They themselves or their husbands will know best whether it is worth while; the prices of fruit, vegetables and meat are high and so long as they do not come down to any considerable extent, the markets are likely to continue. Incidentally, in spite of all its primitive fittings, the market-hall is clean and there are no flies. There is no wrapping up either: the buyers bring their own nets or bags. I did not know about this and was advised to buy a newspaper at the entrance for 20 kopecks instead.

Not far from the market-hall is the large State food shop (*Gastronom*). The choice and quality of goods is passable, the prices are high and the purchasing system exasperating. To buy bread, butter and sausage, for example, we have to stand in seven different lines: first of all, we approach the assistant of the particular department, who indicates the price of the commodity; from there we proceed to the cash-desk where vouchers for the desired amount are handed out and finally we return to the bread, butter and sausage lines where the goods are eventually handed over.

People wait patiently, but sometimes there are altercations and even something of an affray. The police on the street corner, not keen on interfering, look the other way. There is an old Soviet joke about the militia being responsible for order (*Poryadok*) but not for disorder (*Bezporiadok*). The passivity of the militia led in 1958 to the establishment of the *Druzhiny*, a kind of Home Guard with a distinctive red arm band who appear in strength especially in the late afternoon and evening. These men and women enlist on a voluntary basis to fight hooliganism and have done more to restore public order than the militia. Although they are unarmed, they are more feared than the militia. The Soviet traffic police are likewise well-known for their vigor and severity. They often stop drivers in the streets without previous warning and subject their vehicles to a pretty thorough inspection. It is needless to mention yet another type of police which, although not in uniform, is fairly easily spotted even by the untrained foreign visitor.

Opposite the kolkhoz market is the public prosecutor's office and next to it a kiosk where I buy the local morning paper and the Rostov edition of the Moscow *Pravda*. By the side of the kiosk watches are repaired in a small shop: the traveler sees more shoemakers and watchmakers in Russia than anywhere else in the world. Fifteen years ago a watch was still a rarity; today they are available in all price ranges, beginning at

about 225 rubles (i.e. \$22). Part of the road is excavated and gas pipes are being laid; there has been talk of a gas supply for years and the local paper complains that the work is not going ahead fast enough. Demands are growing: until about 1950 there was hardly any public transport and no private cars at all, yet today, one of the older inhabitants told us, people grumble if they have to walk a mile or two. Many houses have been supplied with running water, another revolutionary innovation. A little boy proudly shows us his school; first impressions were very good but we learnt that there are not enough school buildings in Russia and some of the classes have to be taken in two or three shifts. We asked the little boy whether the teachers are allowed to beat their pupils. He looked up rather pitifully, "No, they are not even allowed to give extra work as a form of punishment." Odd that in a country with such an authoritarian government teachers are forced to manage without punishments. Among the adults, however, everything is conducted in strictly hierarchical fashion: the senior officer in an institution addresses his subordinates as "thou" whereas they have to address him as "you." There has been some opposition to this recently, however. (Old party members are an exception and always address one another as "thou.")

Such remnants of egalitarianism have by now become rather infrequent. The visitor will hardly be able to shed much new light on the problem of the new class in the Soviet Union which has preoccupied so many critics for more than 30 years. But status plays a very great role in Soviet society: the young lecturer makes a very deep bow indeed when he meets his professor, the deference shown by officials to their superiors is most remarkable, to call him "Comrade

eutenant" is the surest way to soften the stony heart of a policeman if one has contravened some traffic regulation. One does not see much of the Soviet army in public, but the intention is obviously to make the officer a much more distant figure of respect to the enlisted man than in the American Army, for instance.

It would be fascinating to prepare a list of U's and non-U's in Soviet society. Years ago there simply was the difference between civilized (*kulturny*) and uncivilized behavior; by now this term is on the way out and has been replaced by a much more complicated set of behavior. It has not only to do with the possession of a country house or a car; certain things are definitely 'out,' whether it is carrying a bundle in the street or smoking an inferior brand of cigarette, or not to be able to dance (and I do not mean folk dances). The choice of men's apparel is as yet limited by Western standards, but extreme emphasis is now put on clean and correct dress, especially among the intelligentsia. Once upon a time it was *de rigueur* among Russian intellectuals to neglect their appearance, but these days are gone.

Seen in the street: many middle-aged women still wear the headshawl which here as elsewhere in Russia marks the older generation off from the modern young girls hurrying to their offices, shops or factories, many of them with a book under their arm. On a large red roll of honor in the middle of the square are inscribed the names of citizens who have distinguished themselves at work. Not far away there is another pillar on which no one cares to see his name: I read about the commander of the local "Druzhiny" accused of sleeping when he should have been on guard; another caricature shows a woman (name and address given) with a venomous tongue: she is described as a hooligan and is said to have slandered her fellow-lodgers and written anonymous letters. In Khrushchev's Russia it is customary to mobilize public opinion against (unpolitical) evil-doers who cannot be prosecuted under the statutes of "Socialist legislation"; public denunciations at mock trials specially convened for this purpose are the fashion.

A stay in a Soviet provincial town leaves the visitor with a picture that is by no means clear; it has little in common with the official propaganda put out for foreign consumption. It is equally certain that life in 1960 is very different and much better from what it used to be in the Stalin era. Russia is in the throes of developments which may lead in all kinds of directions but, like Gogol's celebrated Troika it is impossible for anyone to say where the road will end.

Essentuki:

Fields of sunflowers on either side of the road; an imposing building, rather like a fortress, is the mud bath establishment which Tsar Nicholas II had built for himself and which was finished in 1916. The lay-out of the new part of this little town is pleasant; the streets are lined with flower beds. There is a touch of the Orient about the old part of Essentuki; we are near the geographical frontier between Europe and Asia.

The main road climbs to about 3,000 feet and it is not long before we reach Kislovodsk. For the Soviet citizen Kislovodsk means Narzan, the mineral water that is drunk all over the Union. There is a Narzan street, a Narzan hotel, a Narzan bookshop, a Narzan art gallery and, needless to say, a Narzan sanatorium and countless other institutions where the name occurs. It comes from the Karbadian and refers to the carbonic drink of the legendary heroic tribe of the Nartens. Nowadays the mineral water is bathed in by unheroic patients suffering from circulatory or other internal complaints, but plenty of Narzan is still drunk. Round the original spring in the spa park, which is now mechanized and surrounded by glass, a few young girls in white Russian blouses pour out the Narzan for visitors. The patients subject themselves to a strict

regimen: for there are 15 different diets and baths and innumerable variations in 50 sanatoria. Not without good cause, Soviet doctors think highly of walking as a cure and there are three standard walks, ranging from half a mile for the infirm to 7 miles for those with no organic disorder. On the way there are 20 check points where one can have one's pulse and blood pressure measured and where inquiries are made about one's general state of health.

150,000 visitors come to Kislovodsk alone every year. The Academy of Sciences, the Usbek Council of Ministers and many other more or less important organizations have their own sanatorium here. A considerable number of visitors who come to Kislovodsk are, however, in the best of health. They come because so many of their friends and acquaintances spend the summer months in the Caucasus or because they want to get away from the heat of Baku, Erivan and Tiflis. It is a mystery where they are all accommodated, since, apart from the sanatoria there is only one large hotel and three boarding houses in the place. A key to the problem has been supplied, however, in an article published in the local paper about a man at the railway station who offers to obtain private accommodation for visitors in return for a commission of 15 percent. The area around Kislovodsk was described as follows by Lermontov in "A Hero of Our Times": "Solitude pervades the whole place and mystery is everywhere: the deep shade of the avenues of lime trees which lean over the noisy foaming river rushing on from stone to stone through the verdant mountains; and the gorges, misty and silent branching out in all directions; the fresh aromatic air, impregnated with the fragrance of the tall grasses of the South and the white acacias; the everlasting sweet drowsy murmuring of the icy streams which meet at the valley's end and race merrily along to their final plunge into the Podkumok."

Holiday at the Spa

It is doubtful whether Lermontov would recognize Kislovodsk today. The solitude and stillness and the mystery are all gone. At the Khram Vosducha (the "air temple") there is a roundabout that never seems to close down; the gigantic rocks around the old castle named "Intrigue and Love" are covered with such inscriptions as "long live peace in the whole world" and "Serge Ivanov was here." Despite the cool weather hundreds of people bathe and row in the lake and one has to line up to get a free table in the "Tourist," an excellent restaurant, a few miles from the town.

To escape the crowds we followed the little footpaths that lead into the mountains: in the distance there are the little mountain villages of the Kabardian-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Republic. In 1944 Stalin had all the

Balkars deported to Central Asia and it is only in recent years that some of them have returned to the Caucasus. There are still wild cats, foxes and wolves in the mountains. In winter they come right up to the edge of the town; bears and lynxes were hunted here up to a few years ago.

The best place to undertake sociological studies is the spa park where thousands take the prescribed walk in the late afternoon. Armenians and Georgians have come with large families by taxi or in their own cars, and there are the professors from Moscow, Leningrad or Kiev with their wives. They used to be the best paid section of Soviet society: some of them received more than one salary and were paid 10, 15 or even 20 thousand rubles a month. This has now been changed: a professor can now only draw one salary (and one pension) and the maximum is around 5,000 rubles. (There are, as usual, a very few exceptions.) But don't pity them: one can manage quite well on 5,000 rubles, which is 6 or 7 times the average salary. Then there are the actors from the great cities combining a starring part with a holiday at the spa. And finally there are some who really are ill.

What do all these people do in their spare time? The party says that spare time activities must be better organized, otherwise young people may go astray. The newspapers complain that whole sections of the population have been seized by a mania for games. Even in the park you can see them playing cards, dominoes, billiards and a game, unknown to me, called preference.

Russians have a traditional weakness for games; vide Pushkin's "Pique Dame," Tolstoy and Dostoevski. Some of them forget time and the world when they become absorbed in cards or billiards. It is not easy to modify this tradition but attempts are now being made to offer more light music and organize lectures, not only on the world political situation and the resolutions of the 21st Party Congress but also on such subjects as "Is There Life on the Stars?" and, more down to earth "Problems of Married Life."

The day ends early in Kislovodsk. There is no night life. Dance music can be heard coming from one of the sanatoria, "Soviet jazz," a very widespread form of light music that is only grudgingly tolerated. The dancing is very slow and most of the tunes appear to date from the period of "Alexander's Ragtime Band." The last train from Pyatigorsk brings in a few new visitors who line up in the possibly vain hope of getting a taxi. In the food shops work goes on till late in the evening, but even they have closed by now. The last visitors to the flower exhibition in the pump room have returned and over a loudspeaker comes the beginning of the late evening news: *Govorit Moskva*. In spite of holidays, Narzan and billiards the voice of Moscow is still audible in the Caucasus.

Eichmann and the Problem of Justice

by Giles Playfair

Those who regard legal vengeance as a proper aim of criminal justice, and approve of the death penalty, may find nothing disquieting about the promised grandstand trial of the notorious Adolf Eichmann, who is accused of organizing Hitler's "Final Solution" of the Jewish problem in Europe. They may, indeed, agree with Mr. Ben-Gurion that for Eichmann to be tried in Israel before the Jewish people is a "moral impera-

Minister of Death;

The Adolf Eichmann Story

by Quentin Reynolds, Ephraim Katz
and Zwy Aldouby
(Viking; \$5)

tive." And they will likely have no quarrel with a new book called *Minister of Death, The Adolf Eichmann Story*, which Quentin Reynolds has written on the basis of material supplied him by two Israeli journalists, Ephraim Katz and Zwy Aldouby, and which can be read as a curtain-raiser to the trial.

In spite of its sensationalized and manifestly prejudicial title, which reads like hint to Hollywood, this is neither a cheap nor a bloodthirsty book. Though it appears to have been written hurriedly without much respect for stylistic grace, it is also written with moderation. The account of Eichmann's early life in Germany, of his stupendous criminal record, of his flight at the end of the war and of his eventual capture is told clearly and straightforwardly, and is evidently authentic. The rights and wrongs in the dispute that arose between Israel and Argentina over the abduction of Eichmann, and the arguments for and against Eichmann's being tried in Israel rather than in Germany, or before an International Tribunal, are presented lucidly and with reasonable objectivity. Nevertheless, *Minister of Death* cannot be accepted merely as an impartial piece of reporting. There is a message in it which says

implicitly, and to some extent explicitly, that while Adolf Eichmann is virtually bound to be executed, he will get "justice." With such a message any wholehearted opponent of capital punishment, anyone who holds that justice and legal vengeance are quite incompatible, is bound to take issue.

Now it is possible, of course, to dislike capital punishment on various grounds, and to a greater or lesser degree; it is possible to be a kind of limited abolitionist. But if one condemns the death penalty outright as a barbarity for which there should be no place in a civilized society, one is logically precluded from condoning its use even against a perpetrator of the most heinous crimes imaginable; to admit the possibility of exceptions is to betray one's own case. At the same time, there is no necessary inconsistency in believing that capital punishment should be outlawed and yet in remaining unconvinced that the taking of human life is an absolute wrong under any circumstances. Bernard Shaw, while he was totally opposed to the death sentence (and imprisonment, too), went so far as to suggest in his preface to the Webb's history of the British penal system that, short of a major advance in psychiatric knowledge and curative techniques, society might be justified in dealing with its incurably anti-social and dangerous members, non-punitively, by euthanasia. And he voiced a similar kind of argument through his mouthpiece, Julius Caesar. Shaw's Caesar, it may be recalled, "feels no horror at natural slaying" - killing "without malice" in one's own or the State's defense - and when his henchman, Rufio, admits to having committed such an act, Caesar cheerfully takes the blame on himself. But legal vengeance none the less appalls him. "Had you set yourself in the seat of the judge," he says to Rufio, "and with hateful ceremonies and appeals to the gods handed that woman over to

some hired executioner to be slain before the people in the name of justice, never again would I have touched your hand without a shudder."

According to Mr. Reynolds' book, the Israeli agents who kidnaped Adolf Eichmann in Buenos Aires last May threatened at one point to shoot him dead if he tried to escape, and meant what they said. Such a summary execution could, it is true, hardly have been justified as an essential preventive measure. However implacable an enemy of the Jewish people Eichmann may have been then, and may still be now, his capacity for harm had ended fifteen years before with the Nazi defeat. Under one pseudonym or another, in one alien country or another, he had been living ever since a restless, hunted, fear-haunted life, but a wholly innocuous one; and there was no greater practical need left to "incapacitate" him than there would be to incapacitate a man-eating tiger who had lost all its claws and teeth. Nor was this Eichmann, who had done his best to disappear, in any position to rally new followers or make new converts to his loathsome creed. As a matter of fact, he had never been a Nazi leader or policy-maker. He had been a highly placed, zealous and objectively speaking, a gluttonously cruel executant of policy, who may yet have been sincerely if psychotically convinced that the extermination of the Jews was something done in vital defense of his country. Ironically enough, indeed, he may have been, according to his own perverted lights, a "natural slayer" in Shaw's sense.

But even though the Adolf Eichmann who was finally run to ground in Buenos Aires had no sting left, one could argue that if his captors had finished him off then and there (as, I repeat, they were fully prepared to do as a last resort), the action would have been legally only by degree less defensible than what was in fact done to him and would have been morally far preferable to what may be done to him.

One does not doubt that Eichmann will have a "fair" trial in the sense that

it will be scrupulously conducted according to the rules of law. But equally one cannot seriously doubt that this man, who once boasted that he would jump into his grave laughing because the fact that he had the death of five million Jews on his conscience gave him extraordinary satisfaction, will be convicted. He has, so far as is known, no substantial defense except that he acted under orders, and precedent exists in plenty for rejecting that particular plea; besides, it is alleged that for a time at least he overstepped his orders. Indeed, to judge from what Mr. Reynolds says, it is not so much the question of Eichmann's guilt as the question of the full extent of his guilt and that of the whole Nazi Movement.

Admittedly, since Israel has an accusative system of justice, the fiction is being maintained, both officially and by the Israeli press, that even Adolf Eichmann must be considered innocent until proved guilty. Yet Mr. Ben-Gurion himself paid scant lip-service to this fiction when he wrote to President Frondizi of Argentina: "They (the survivors of Hitler's 'Final Solution') regarded it as their mission in life to bring the man responsible for his crime (the execution of Hitler's orders), without precedent in history, to stand trial before the Jewish people." Moreover though Eichmann's arrest and promised trial may, as Mr. Ben-Gurion would presumably contend, have had a morally uplifting effect on the Jewish people and produced a thirst for justice, it has also, manifestly, had a degrading effect on them and produced a thirst for vengeance. The Israeli Government has acknowledged the receipt of numerous applications, both from within and without Israel, for the job of Eichmann's executioner. And Mr. Reynolds also reports, though without comment or apparent awareness of its significance, the story of a small boy who nearly lost his life in Haifa recently as a result of all the excitement. He was the defendant in a game that the chil-

dren had invented called "Eichmann's Trial." His playmates found him guilty, condemned him to death, and then, forgetting make-believe, actually hanged him from a tree. His elder brother rushed up only just in time to save him from strangulation.

One wonders whether Max Lerner knew of this gruesome little story when he wrote (as quoted by Mr. Reynolds): "The intent behind the trial? The intent is not revenge or retribution, but justice." It is odd how even the most intelligent and liberal-minded of people tend to become irrational in any discussion of crime and punishment. Mr. Lerner goes on to remark that no punishment could ever be adequate for the monstrousness of Eichmann's crimes: an obviously irrelevant point if the intent behind the trial really has nothing to do with retribution, but an indisputable statement of fact for anyone who believes that "justice" means giving the criminal what he "deserves," making the "punishment fit the crime," demanding "life for life" and so on. Unwittingly, Mr. Lerner sounds like a frustrated retributionist when he expresses the hope that because of the impossibility of dealing with Eichmann according to his deserts "the Israelis will be imaginative enough to assign a symbolic punishment."

Uncompromising opponents of legal vengeance might nevertheless find that a welcome suggestion, if it were at all a practical one. Unfortunately, it isn't. For Mr. Lerner ignores the fact that Israel has not, like Western Germany, outlawed the death penalty. It is true that no execution has thus far taken place in Israel; and it is also true that Israel is ordinarily classed among the so-called abolition States, because it does not execute murderers. But it has specifically reserved the power to use capital punishment in the case of treason and Nazi war crimes. A court of law can only be "imaginative" within the limits of its duty to administer the law. The Israeli court which tries and convicts Eichmann will be equipped with the power to pass sentence of death on him. How, one may fairly ask, can it pass a lesser sentence without making a mockery of the law which it is sworn to administer? How, indeed, can it do so without implying that Eichmann is less culpable than some of the humblest of his subordinates were: than the twenty-

year-old Irma Grese, for example, an SS wardress at Belsen concentration camp, who was executed by the British after the Luneberg trials. In other words, so long as the death-sentencing power for Eichmann's crimes exists, a purely retributive result of the trial seems unavoidable. The only way out would be for the Israeli Knesset to meet in time and wipe capital punishment off the Statute Books.

One presumes, however, that even if Mr. Lerner were convinced that Adolf Eichmann is going to be executed, he would stick to his view that the intent behind the trial is "justice," rather than revenge or retribution. "Put differently," he says, "the intent is that the fate which the death camp inmates met shall never again be the fate of any people. . . ." Put differently again, and more simply, the intent behind the trial, in Mr. Lerner's opinion, is deterrence. Granting that to be true for the sake of argument, is it an intent that can be achieved through executing Eichmann?

Most criminologists concede that the death penalty can theoretically be deterrent, though whether it can ever be *uniquely* deterrent is another matter. But all criminologists agree that the deterrent effectiveness of any threatened punishment is dependent on the speed and certainty with which that punishment is likely to follow the offense in question. During the time that Eichmann committed his crimes, he could not, of course, have known that he risked the trial and punishment which he now faces, for neither the law under which he is being prosecuted nor the State of Israel itself were in existence. But suppose he had known that he could the possible sanction of being condemned to death in an Israeli court have seemed to him, as a servant of Hitler's apparently all-powerful Reich, much more remote? Is it conceivable that he would have been deterred by it? Is it conceivable that anyone in the future with similarly vicious inclinations, and finding himself in the same seemingly impregnable position, would be deterred by it?

After all, the intent behind the Nuremberg trials was also supposed to be primarily deterrent. But those who built up hopes on Nuremberg, and on the lesser Nurembergs, already have solid grounds for disillusionment. The alleged "lesson" of these trials did not

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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deter the North Korean Communist leaders from launching their armies against the South in 1950. It did not deter the Russians from their cruel and unlawful Hungarian intervention in 1956. It did not deter Perez Jiménez of Venezuela from continuing to deal with his political opponents by illegal imprisonment and torture. Nor has it deterred the People's Police in East Germany from beating and starving the inmates of Nazi concentration camps which had already been started again by the Russians in 1945.

This is not to suggest for a moment that the war criminals should have escaped trial or that the trials were in themselves valueless and indefensible. Nuremberg exposed crimes of an un-

paralleled magnitude, which it was undoubtedly a moral and historical necessity to expose and prove; and the Israeli Government may very well be on firm ground when it claims that the trial of Adolf Eichmann will serve a similarly high purpose. Nevertheless, the hanging of Von Ribbentrop and other Nazi leaders can now plainly be seen as legal vengeance of the most naked kind. If the Eichmann trial is to be something better than a repeat performance of Nuremberg, the Israeli Knesset must act in time to outlaw capital punishment. One may hope that it will, and that the gallant Jewish people will be saved from adding a crime of their own to the myriads of crimes committed against them through the centuries.

of both Rabbit Angstrom and the girl he married is an indictment of an entire generation, its weakness and its desperation. Rabbit seems to represent the young American whose beliefs have no morality and whose manliness is limited to being able to perform the act which may reproduce himself. In this sense, as a sociological portrait of an adolescent whose life is an unstable compound of lust and nostalgia, affection and fear, and who is tragically caught between instinct and order. Rabbit is a believable character. He is not quite so believable, however, as a character in a novel, and that may be because *Rabbit, Run* itself is not quite believable as a novel.

Brilliant and impelling is some of the writing in sections of *Rabbit, Run*. One of the most intense and stunning passages in recent literature is the description of the drunken mother with the body of the baby she has just drowned:

"She lifts the living thing into air and hugs it against her sopping chest. Water pours off them onto the bathroom tiles. The little weightless body flops against her neck and a quick look of relief at the baby's face gives a fantastic clotted impression. A contorted memory of how they give artificial respiration pumps Janice's cold wet arms in frantic rhythmic hugs; under her clenched lids great scarlet prayers arise, wordless, monotonous, and she seems to be clasping the knees of a vast third person whose name, Father, Father, beats against her head like physical blows. Though her wild heart bathes the universe in red, no spark kindles in the space between her arms; for all of her pouring prayers she doesn't feel the faintest tremor of an answer

Down With the Poor in Spirit

by J. M. Edelstein

Many who were amused by the witty and perceptive verse in John Updike's first book, *The Carpentered Hen and her tame creatures* (1958), and were moved by the originality of *The Poorhouse Fair* (1959), his first novel, or who are impressed by the brilliance of the short stories collected in his *The Same Door* (1959), will, I believe, put down Updike's latest book and second novel, *Rabbit, Run*, with mixed feelings. *Rabbit, Run* is the story of a 26-year-old,

Rabbit, Run
by John Updike
(Knopf; \$4)

Larry "Rabbit" Angstrom, who was once a high-school basketball star in a small Pennsylvania town where he still lives and where he is now a husband and father almost totally unprepared to accept the responsibilities involved in either role. Janice, his wife, is a dull girl who is expecting a second baby and is often drunk. Rabbit works in a department store as a demonstrator of a kitchen gadget, but he and his family are supported, largely, by both his and Janice's parents.

On an impulse, after a street basketball game in which he has awed the neighborhood kids and, for a moment, regained the good old feeling of being

a hero, Rabbit deserts his wife and child. He has had it: He cannot stand another moment of the crummy, cramped apartment, his uncared-for child, the packaged dinner still in the freezer, the closet door that will not open without banging against the television set before which his wife, drink in hand, is contentedly glued to the "Mickey Mouse Club." He runs out—and continues to run. He spends a night aimlessly driving. He meets Ruth, a semi-prostitute, and lives with her, supporting himself with odd jobs and her savings. An Episcopalian minister, himself troubled by the uncertainties of his own role, tries to bring Rabbit back to his family, and succeeds in getting him to leave Ruth, herself now pregnant with Rabbit's child, only when Janice bears her baby. But Janice, drunk, drowns the new baby in the bathtub, and Rabbit, again, "with an effortless gathering out of a kind of sweet panic growing lighter and quicker and quieter . . . runs. Ah: runs. Runs."

There is no question that at the envied age of 28, John Updike has become a figure to watch in American letters, a man who writes with precision and grace, with poetic sensitivity as well as poetic toughness. Nor is there any doubt that *Rabbit, Run* is an interesting and exciting book: the pathetic immaturity

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in the darkness against her. Her sense of the third person with them widens enormously, and she knows, while knocks sound at the door, that the worst thing that has ever happened to any woman in the world has happened to her."

The talks between Rabbit and the Episcopalian minister, Jack Eccles, have the quality of inspired eavesdropping, and in the conversation between Eccles and his Lutheran counterpart, Fritz Kruppenbach, in which Kruppenbach suggests that "good" is something positive and only a child thinks that "good" is the "unknown" or the "possible," we have the main point that may be made of this book.

A novel should tell us something not only of the human condition but also of human aspiration. John Updike writes about the people in *Rabbit, Run*, not with the great compassion that has been claimed for him and which he did exhibit in *The Poorhouse Fair*, but rather with a bitter, almost vicious, hatred and a humorless lack of pity. The poor in spirit, the supposedly resourceless and the desperate in *Rabbit, Run* are only further debased and distorted by him. Rabbit, Janice, Ruth, the minister, all are over-simplified; they are made weaker and smaller than they really are. So abject and so despised, there is not a person in *Rabbit, Run* with any human dignity, and none of them, therefore, are real; they are only poor symbols. Updike has not given us enough reason to care about his characters because he himself has not demanded enough of them.

It is also because of the emphatic selectivity which Updike has demon-

strated in scattered sections of high poetic prose that the book suffers and fails to cohere adequately into a novel; for it is in the areas that surround and support the highlights that a work of art is upheld and defended. Novels have been written in which characters are made to embody thin and useless principles; but they can be defined. Rabbit Angstrom, however, has neither principles nor character. In trying to create a morally bankrupt child lost in an adult world, Updike has become confused. The implication is that Rabbit will run forever because he always has. But this was not always so. Rabbit *was* good at basketball ("I once played a game real well. I really did. And after you're first-rate at something, no matter what, it kind of takes the kick out of being second-

rate. And that little thing Janice and I had going, boy, it was really second-rate."); he did finish school; he served in the Army; he *married* Janice, *after* she was pregnant with their first child; he loves his child; he has tender, gentle responses. *Rabbit, Run* might be more believable as a novel if it had a more simple structure, one which fit the weak and simple picture of its hero.

One other matter, and that concerns the sweet abandonment that art sometimes shows of reality's details. Poetic license does not have to be explained, but in a work as obsessed with principle, or the lack of it, as *Rabbit, Run*, it seems particularly unfortunate to allow a murder—even a second-degree murder—to go unpunished, except for the guilt implied in Rabbit's running.

TELEVISION

The Debates in Retrospect

Even before the campaign was over, leading Democrats, whose candidate was generally agreed to have benefited decisively from the joint TV appearances, were carefully non-committal about any debates in 1964. Robert Kennedy said the decision would have to be made when the next campaign rolls around, and National Chairman Jackson said the debates pose difficult problems when one of the candidates is President of the United States.

Indeed they do, for a great deal more rides on the off-the-cuff words of the President than on those of a prospective President. But the debates can be credited with so many identifiable contributions to the edification of the electorate that every effort should be made to assure the President's participation in them in 1964.

First and foremost, the debates, televised, as they were, by all the major networks simultaneously, exposed the candidates to tens of millions of voters who might otherwise never have seen or heard them. What is more, those who viewed the debate were treated to an unusually candid and accurate portrait. How much better for the voters to see the two standing on their own feet, without benefit of ghost-written script,

than to be primarily exposed, as in past campaigns, to half-hour views of one candidate or the other reading a speech (prepared in whole or in large part somebody else), unquestioned and unchallenged.

Granted that the strictures of time imposed by the debates prevented them from being the perfect medium for the detailed exposition of programs and policies. But two months of steady campaigning afforded many opportunities for that, amply used by both candidates through speeches and "position papers." The unique provision of the debates was an opportunity for the vote to get "the feel" of the two men.

Not only did the debates expose the candidates to millions; they did so without cost to the candidates or their parties. By thus lessening the enormous party outlays for half-hours of expensive TV time, they thereby lessened the dependence of the parties on the special interests from which both largely derive their support. Anything that reduces the financial obligations of the two parties and thus enhances the President's freedom of action once he is in office is in the public interest.

One critic has pointed out that the "dialogue was largely a paste-up job,

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containing bits and snippets from campaign rhetoric already used many times." To be sure, this fact, not readily apparent to the average viewer, did artificially create the impression of remarkable articulateness on the part of both men. But isn't it far better that "bits and snippets" are heard by 60 to 70 million people, rather than by a smaller number who might catch them at a street corner or a railway station?

Another important contribution of the debates was their deterrent effect on hyperbole and unfounded statements. The knowledge that any off-base charge or statement might be questioned either by a newsman or one's opponent in full view 60 or 70 million people must have made both candidates more wary of what they said. Doubtless, the much-discussed fifth debate would have covered some old ground. But it would probably also have served the useful purpose of toning down some of the sayings both candidates were throwing in the final heated days, such as Mr. Nixon's wild charge that Senator Kennedy was threatening the cut-off of social security if Nixon won.

What of the format of future debates? Walter Lippmann and others have criticized the interpolation of questions by newsmen as possibly jeopardizing the integrity of the debates: it has also been suggested that if the questions were formulated by the candidates themselves, they might be sharper, and we could make a judgment about the respective contenders not only on the basis of their answers but on the basis of the questions they asked.

Another more basic criticism is that the 1960 debates afforded no opportunity for follow-up questions, as does *Meet the Press* or *Face the Nation*. This is a serious drawback to the present format, mitigated to some extent by the act that, owing to the repeal of the "equal time" stricture of the Communications Act, the networks were able to present each of the four top candidates on *Meet the Press* type shows for at least one hour during the campaign.

There might be some advantages, in 1964, to having the questions prepared by the candidates, rather than by newsmen, possibly to be posed by a network announcer so as to respect the dignity of the candidates. But whether the questions are posed thus, or by newsmen,

the question - answer - rebuttal pattern has a number of advantages.

Like it or not, an hour is a long time to hold audience attention, especially for a discussion of public affairs. The 1960 format was well-suited to keep the viewer watching; it made the debates move quickly; it encouraged conciseness and discouraged rambling; it assured coverage of a variety of issues; and it prevented the discussion from becoming bogged down in wrangling, beyond the point of diminishing returns, on any single point; and it tended to focus both candidates' attention on a single subject at a given time.

The future of this new form of cam-

paingning will be decided by President Kennedy. It will take courage and firmness for him to participate in such encounters, if he is his party's candidate again in '64, for he will be besieged by advisors who will point out to him, quite correctly, that he will be handing his lesser known opponent an unnecessary advantage. It would be ironic if John F. Kennedy, who, second only to the American public, was the greatest beneficiary of the 1960 debates, should deal the death blow to a spectacularly successful use of the television medium, whose enormous educational potential has heretofore been so largely wasted.

PHILIP M. STERN

ART

Danish on the Side

One of the most regrettable features about the present season is that the large, comprehensive exhibition of Flemish art of the great centuries could show only in two cities. It was, appropriately, in Bruges all summer and it is now, with an assist from the US Navy,

The Arts of Denmark
Metropolitan Museum of Art

at the Institute of Arts in Detroit. When the first word of the Flemish show began to get about, it was hoped by all that the Detroit opening would be followed by an East Coast showing somewhere between Washington and Boston. The most logical place, of course, was the Metropolitan, but the Met was unable to arrange its schedule to accommodate what undoubtedly will be the only time in the 20th Century that masterpieces of one of the great schools of art from both European and American collections are brought together. The Met has, however, arranged its schedule to accommodate a large exhibition from another small North European country, Denmark.

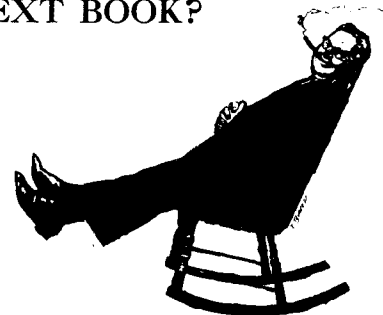
I like the show very much; I urge you to attend; but is it, I keep asking myself, "art"? And echo answers, Harumph. No. It's trade, sir, and trade, sir, has no place, sir, in a museum of art. Echo may

have something there. Then again, fascinated by her own barnyard imitations of Colonel Blimp, she may not.

Ignoring echo for the moment, you enter the show in the pre-Christian days of the Vikings and other early residents of Jutland and islands. From the late Bronze Age, in other words from a century to three or four before Pericles and all that crowd, the show has lavish heaps of the odds and ends of daily,

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military and ritual life. Jewelry and weapons abound and with them the pathos engendered by life fallen, literally, into a bog, preserved for millenia, and lately dug up, cleaned off and put on exhibition. A matched pair of bronze lurs rise from the display like sea-serpents off the bows of raiding ships. A lur is a very early bronze wind instrument of limited range. About a yard long, it is a narrow tube which widens as it turns sharply from the mouthpiece and then slowly in its rise. Its mouth is the center of a bronze disk ornamented with seven raised hemispheres and 28 symmetrically disposed little coils. It gives something of the feeling you get from a fine old Shofar, but there is the big difference that the Shofar is still in use. The continuity continues. Does that of the lur? The exhibition at the Met implies that it does, that the craftsmanship and the feeling for line and shape and material that distinguish the lur are still alive at the other end of the exhibition in the place settings, dining furniture and easy chairs of contemporary Denmark. Echo, surly as always, would say there are no truly lurid echoes at all in the chaste and elegant leather, teak and silver. It's all dedicated to refined comfort and to the look of effortless efficiency. The men of the brass section in the age of the lur had more important things than comfort to think about and wouldn't have understood what you were talking about if you tried to explain a "look" to them, least of all the look of efficiency.

Next at the Met you encounter a selection of medieval and Renaissance material. Two early 16th-Century wood-carvers, Hans Brüggemann and Claus Berg, are far and away the most distinguished individually identifiable artists in the whole show. Brüggemann's almost life-size oak *St. George and the Dragon* is a masterpiece of a material with a very pronounced character of its own preserving that character and at the same time beautifully imitating the characters of such diverse materials as iron armor, leather harness and the

flesh of knight and horse. Berg's *Virgin Crowned by God and Christ*, also oak, is a wall piece of very high relief and in the accurately observed and tenderly mediated on faces and forms of the three figures, it reminds us again that such 20th-Century northern sculptors as Ernst Barlach and Gerhard Marcks are in touch with a way of looking and making that really has stayed alive.

The high point of both this section and the show, however, is the *Oelst Altar Front*, which is dated from about 1200 and is wood covered with gilt copper plates. The plates are shaped into New Testament scenes and put you into immediate contact with the universal European tradition on the eve of the Renaissance. The rather stiff figures, placed precisely in relation to each other and in relation to the available space—in this case, a series of squares—can be found in manuscripts from France and Bohemia, in murals in Yugoslavia and Spain. Byzantium and the North, engaged in a long stand-off in religion and politics, did come together in medieval art. This superb Danish altar front is another proof of the immense energy released by the fusion.

The trouble, of course, is the trouble that afflicts a play with a miraculous first act. The show has a pleasant and interesting spread of arts and crafts from the Renaissance through the 19th Century, with a balance struck and maintained between the provincial European of the cities and the often amus-

ing and ingenious folk art of the farm. Even at this distance, an impossibly false note is sounded in the work of the only Danish plastic artist ever to achieve world renown, the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, a Dane who set out to be the noblest Roman of them all and, in the early 19th Century, just about made it. His frozen marbles look more "classic" than the real Greek and Roman material they imitate. Thorvaldsen's work was probably one strong reason for the long aversion of the antique.

There is almost no painting of distinction anywhere in the show. An occasional portrait has a spark of life and there is a large and eerie dyptich, about 1835, by Christian Kobke, showing the roofs of Frederiksborg Castle. But actually the strongest two-dimensional piece on view is a photostatic blow-up of Joern Utzon's spectacular design for the opera house at Sydney, Australia.

Between Kobke and Utzon, you have turned a corner and entered the home furnishings and housewares department, which, in retrospect, seems to be about two-thirds of the show. It's lovely stuff, but it is so displayed as to destroy that aesthetic distance ethical maintained in the Museum of Modern Art's design shows. At the Modern you wouldn't dream of actually using any of the things on view. At the Metropolitan you not only wish to loiter all over the furniture, but you even begin calculating how you can own some of it. This is trade.

FRANK GETLE

## RECORD

### *The Sacred and the Secular*

Listening to Bach's Mass in B Minor, I again do not hear a towering masterpiece from first note to last but find the solo portions uninteresting and only certain of the choral portions—the second Kyrie, the *Gratias agimus* (repeated later as the *Dona nobis pacem*), *Qui tollis* and *Cum santo spiritu* of the Gloria, the *Et incarnatus est* and *Crucifixus est* of the Credo, and the *Sanctus*—movingly expressive and great. The occasion for listening is the new recording of Scherchen's performance on Westminster WST-304 (stereo). His earlier per-

formance on Westminster 3305 (mono) had a rightness of tempo that made it the best; and in the new performance too the pacing is excellent, with only a couple of instances of the excessive slowing down and whipping up of tempo that Scherchen indulges in. The performers are the Vienna Academy Chorus, a Vienna State Opera orchestra, and soloists of whom three—the soprano Pierrette Alarie, the tenor Leopold Simoneau and the alto Nan Merriman—are first class. However, the bass, Gustav Neidlinger is regrettably poor.

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Lyrichord 93 offers Schubert's early, small-scale Mass in G, with lovely lyrical writing that expresses what Tovey called Schubert's "fragrant piety." It is performed well by the Vienna Academy Chorus, Vienna Symphony and soloists under Ferdinand Grossmann. Also on the record is another early piece, *Gesang der Geister ueber den Wassern*, which I find uninteresting.

We have always heard Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* sung by a tenor and a contralto; but the noteworthy feature of the performance on Angel 3607 (mono) and S-3607 (stereo) is the use, in place of the contralto, of a baritone—specifically Fischer-Dieskau, whose expressive inflection of his fine voice makes it appear as though the songs were originally intended for him. The voice of the tenor Murray Dickie is unattractive; but the fascinating orchestral part is played superbly by the Philharmonia under Kletzki.

RCA Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 6410 offer an outstanding performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* conducted by Leinsdorf, with Siepi in the title role, Birgit Nilsson as Donna Anna, Leontyne Price as Donna Elvira, Ildebrando Pizzetti as Don Ottavio, Corena as Leporello, Eugenia Ratti as Zerlina, and the Vienna Philharmonic and State Opera Chorus. And even better in some respects is the performance on Angel 3605 (mono) and S-3605 (stereo) conducted by Carlo Maria Giulini, with Gerhard Waechter as Don Giovanni, Joan Sutherland as Donna Anna, Heinrich Schwanhals as Donna Elvira, Luigi Alva as Don Ottavio, Giuseppe Taddei as Leporello, Graziella Sciutti as Zerlina, and the Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus. For one thing Waechter opposes a rich baritone voice to Siepi's somewhat hoarse bass; in addition Sutherland's singing is more beautiful than Nilsson's, and Schwarzkopf's is more dramatically pointed than Price's; and the Giulini performance, moving with less swiftness and suavity than the Leinsdorf, has more power. There is also a difference in recorded sound: the Angel performance sounds closer, brighter and more sharply distinct than the Victor. On the other hand the Victor performance includes a duet of Zerlina and Leporello that is always omitted in the opera house.

Capitol GCR-7221 (mono) and SGR-



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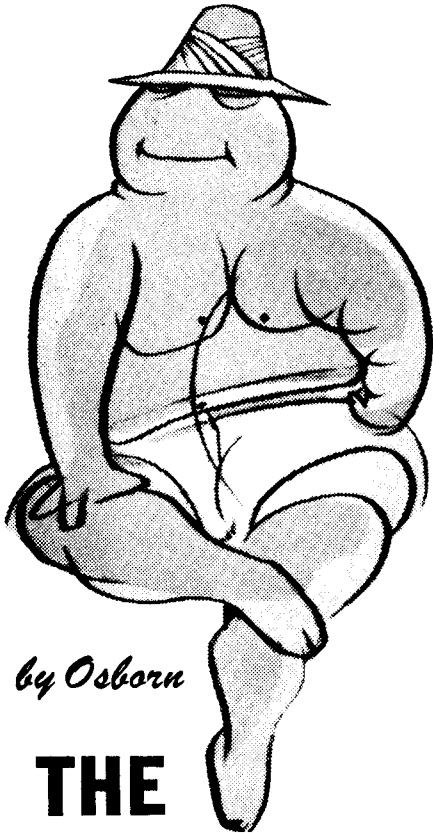
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7221 (stereo) have the beautiful and expressive singing of De los Angeles in a performance of Verdi's *La Traviata* which, as conducted by Serafin, is without tension and force. Carlo del Monte is a somewhat dry-voiced Alfredo; Mario Sereni is a good Germont; the orchestra and chorus are those of the Rome Opera.

Rococo 25 enables one to hear the lovely voice of the soprano Claire Dux in acoustically recorded performances of arias and duets from *Il Re Pastore*, *Der Freischuetz*, *Rigoletto* and *Aida*, among other things. And Rococo 26 has acoustically and electrically recorded performances by the fine tenor Fernand Anseau of arias from Gluck's *Orpheus* and *Alceste*, *Carmen*, and other operas.

Columbia ML-5484 (mono) and MS-6151 (stereo) have Eileen Farrell's beautiful performances of Schubert's *An die Leier*, *Fischerweise*, *An die Laute*, *Dem Unendlichen* and the unfamiliar and unusual *Du liebst mich nicht*, Schumann's *Volksliedchen*, *An den Mond*, *Mein schoener Stern* and *Die Soldatenbraut*, Debussy's *Beau Soir*, and other less interesting Debussy and Poulenc songs.

And on London 5262 (mono) Flagstad sings Schubert's *Dem Unendlichen*, *Der Erlkoenig* and *Ave Maria*, Schumann's *Der Nussbaum*, *Die Lotosblume*, *Widmung*, *Erstes Gruen*, *In der Fremde* and *Die Soldatenbraut*, and a few less interesting songs. The singing is quietly distinguished — even in Schubert's *Der Erlkoenig* and Schumann's *Widmung*, which call for heightened intensity.

As for instrumental music, Columbia M4L-254 (mono) and M4S-616 (stereo) give us the Budapest Quartet's newly recorded performances of Beethoven's Quartets Op. 59 (*Rasumovsky*), Op. 74 (*Harp*) and Op. 95 — performances as finely wrought and expressively effective in every detail as the previous ones and reproduced with more fullness and brightness of sound. Again Roisman's tone is more agreeable in the stereophonic than in the monophonic version.

B. H. HAGGIN

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## Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

### Our Goldwater Aesthetic

Sirs:

*The New Republic* embodies a contradiction which is both amusing and annoying. Encouraging a political liberalism, it at the same time, promoted a conservative aesthetic. In the the September 12 issue ("Cuba — A Dissenting Report") the drama critic, Robert Brustein, dismisses two contemporary productions (Jackson Marlowe's *Marrying Maidens* and Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* translated by Ezra Pound) and says only that his "memory of them is a merciful blank." He then proceeds to praise the NYC Shakespeare Festival.

In another issue the record critic, B. H. Haggin, devotes a page and a half to an article entitled "From Bach to Copland" and dismisses four contemporary composers in two sentences (I recall only Ross Lee Finney) as being incomprehensible.

In a recent issue the art critic Frank Getlein continues his attack on abstract expressionism (the dominant form of painting in America for at least fifteen years) and advocates an America-back-to-pictures attitude.

Undoubtedly the New York Shakespeare in Central Park deserved the praise it received. Undoubtedly criticism from Bach to Copland has its value. To continually ignore contemporary creative efforts is, however, indicative of aesthetic blindness.

In a magazine so politically aware of the contemporary scene, one wishes that *The New Republic* would dispense with its Barry Goldwater aesthetic.

Jacqueline Leuzinger  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Sirs:

Frank Getlein who in my opinion is America's most courageous, most independent and most readable art critic does not need me to defend him from the charge that he urges — as Mr. W. I. Barton (October 31) suggests — "painters to paint in any different way than they choose."... It is rather the *Art News*

with which Mr. Barton contends Mr. Getlein is conducting a "private war" that can be accused of exerting whatever influence it possesses in the direction of creating a climate favorable for the appreciation of a single contemporary manifestation: abstract expressionism. When Getlein calls this kind of thing "Schmeerkunst" he speaks for thousands of sincere painters of a variety of impulses who refuse to play the *Art News* game of conform or be condemned to oblivion.

Aaron Bohrod  
University of Wisconsin

### Wit and the Deanery

Sirs:

Apropos Dean Robert Fitch's heated response (NR, November 7) to Mr. Getlein's comments on a Protestant for President... though the virtues of our Puritan Protestantism are numerous, humor and humility are not the greatest of them.

Marjorie MacBain  
Crawfordsville, Indiana

### For the Electoral College

Sirs:

I have very little sympathy for the views of those who dominate Mississippi. But they have demonstrated most vividly at a quaint old institution, known as the Electoral College, isn't nearly as solete as some of us had thought. Some day there may be a small group of abattled independent electors, holding fast to a position above the common level instead of below it.

Could it be that the Founding Fathers had just such a possibility in mind? Long live the Electoral College!

Robert Willman  
New York, N. Y.

### "No Thanks!"

Sirs:

This morning's mail brought a reminder that my subscription to your magazine is almost at an end and that I should act soon to keep my "reserved seat" for the Washington scene. My reply is "No Thanks!" I am interested in watching the Washington scene, but not from your knot-hole. I have no abiding prejudice against Mr. Kennedy, but as yet, I have seen nothing to warrant the odes of joy and rapture that have been

poured forth on your pages since Los Angeles. Consequently, I am convinced that if I am to read an unbiased, or even an attempt at an unbiased, view of the new administration, I cannot trust you to provide it, but must look to journals which will be less intent on proving a point. I leave you to your love affair with the President-elect.

Marion B. Smith, Jr.  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Toward Bi-Partisan Cooperation

Sirs:

I, as a young voter for Richard M. Nixon, applaud Sen. John F. Kennedy's response to the Vice President's concession and fully appreciate the President-Elect's comments that "the next four years are going to be difficult and challenging for us all" and that a "supreme national effort" will be needed. Also, it is interesting to note that Sen. Kennedy's win was not accompanied by an increase in his party's congressional representation. Rather, there was a decrease.

Perhaps I need not call these facts to the attention of the majority of the readers of your letters column. I do so only to emphasize my point, which is that there is, I firmly believe, a real need for bi-partisan cooperation throughout the administration. Consequently, I strongly hope that President-Elect Kennedy will deeply consider the appointment of Richard M. Nixon to a high-level administrative post (such as Secretary of Defense or Ambassador to the United Nations).

Norman W. Larson  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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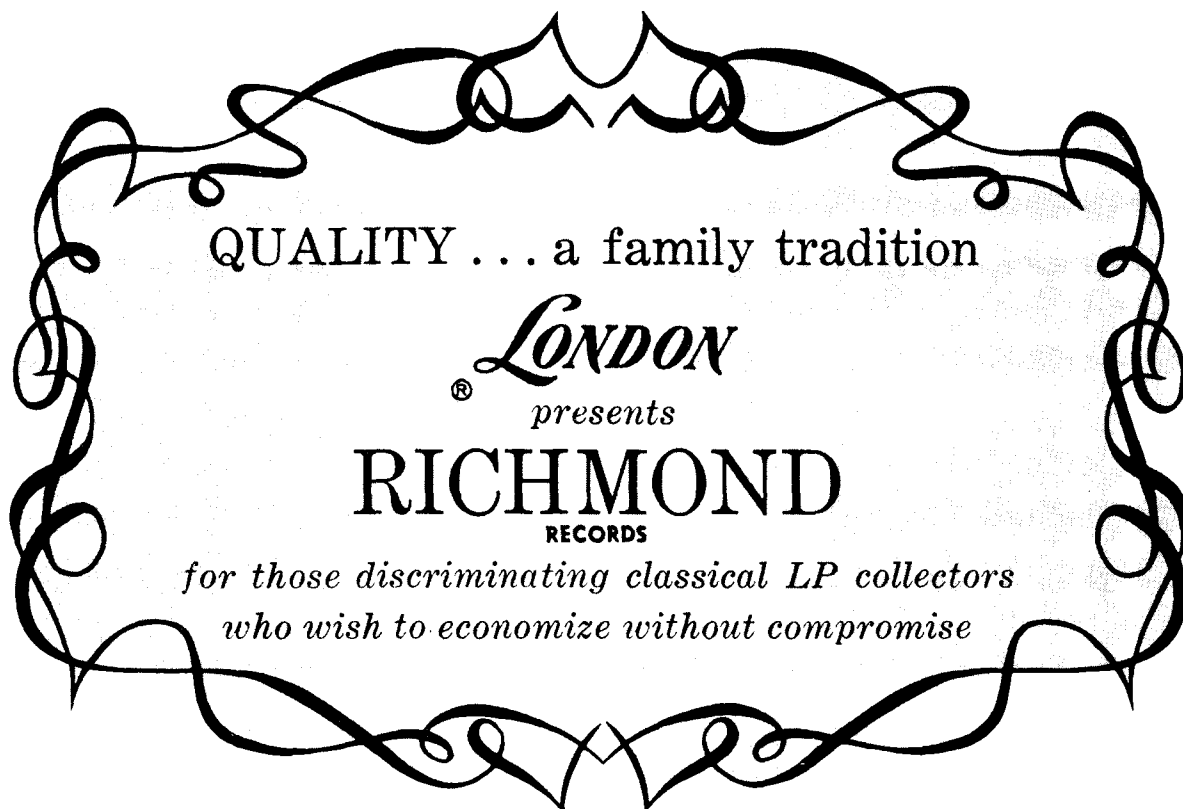
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